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PROVISIONAL VERBATIM RECORD OF THE THREE THOUSAND
TWO HUNDRED AND THIRTY-FOURTH MEETING

Held at Headquarters, New York,
on Thursday, 10 June 1993, at 5.35 p.m.

President:	Mr. YAÑEZ BARNUEVO	(Spain)
Members:	Brazil	Mr. SARDENBERG
	Cape Verde	Mr. JESUS
	China	Mr. LI Zhaoxing
	Djibouti	Mr. DORANI
	France	Mr. LADSOUS
	Hungary	Mr. ERDÖS
	Japan	Mr. HATANO
	Morocco	Mr. BENJELLOUN-TOUIMI
	New Zealand	Mr. O'BRIEN
	Pakistan	Mr. MARKER
	Russian Federation	Mr. VORONTSOV
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir David HANNAY
	United States of America	Mrs. ALBRIGHT
	Venezuela	Mr. ARRIA

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The meeting was called to order at 5.35 p.m.

ADOPTION OF THE AGENDA

The agenda was adopted.

THE SITUATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Sacirbey (Bosnia and Herzegovina) took a place at the Council table.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Members of the Council have before them document S/25798, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to a technical change to be made to the draft resolution, as follows: In operative

(The President)

paragraph 1, the word "possible" should be deleted after the words "on options for the".

I should also like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to the following documents: S/25829, letter dated 24 May 1993 from the Permanent Representatives of France, the Russian Federation, Spain, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; S/25874, letter dated 1 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Croatia to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council; and S/25907, letter dated 8 June 1993 from the Permanent Representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council.

It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution (S/25798) to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: Brazil, Cape Verde, China, Djibouti, France, Hungary, Japan, Morocco, New Zealand, Pakistan, Russian Federation, Spain, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Venezuela

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has therefore been adopted unanimously as resolution 838 (1993).

I shall now call on those members of the Council who wish to make statements following the voting.

Sir David HANNAY (United Kingdom): The resolution we have just adopted is an important element of the immediate steps that my Government and others believed needed to be taken straight away. The other ones we have already acted on in the Council: namely, the Tribunal to deal with war crimes; the safe areas; and the deterrence of attacks against them. None of these steps is an end or a solution in itself; they are merely some immediate measures which, we believe, needed to be taken in the circumstances before us.

As far as finding a solution is concerned, we feel that the key still lies with the peace process and the Peace Plan which bears the names of Mr. Vance and Lord Owen, and we see no viable or acceptable alternative to that.

This measure is of considerable significance because the placing of border monitors, particularly on the border between Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, could bring home to the Bosnian Serbs the bankruptcy of their present policies and the need to reconsider their rejection of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan. The decision a month ago of the authorities of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to limit to humanitarian supplies any traffic

(Sir David Hannay, United Kingdom)

across that border - the border between Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia - was a welcome sign that the point about the bankruptcy of the Bosnian Serbs' policies had been understood at least in Belgrade.

But unsupervised and unmonitored measures of this sort would create no confidence at all. It is therefore essential, in the view of my Government, to put that policy to the test by deploying monitors along that border without undue delay. It is in the interest of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to reconsider the negative views expressed about deployment when the Secretary-General's report is put to the Council. We hope that they will consider this carefully in the short period between now and a decision by the Council on deployment, and will conclude that their own best interests lie in cooperation with the Council and not in yet another act of defiance.

Mr. LADSOUS (France) (interpretation from French): The resolution the Security Council has just adopted falls directly within the framework laid down in the joint programme of action adopted in Washington on 22 May.

The aim of this resolution is to show the intent of the Council, given the proposals that will be contained in the report requested of the Secretary-General to that end, to decide to deploy the necessary observers for effective monitoring of the application of sanctions to the territories controlled by the Serbian party in Bosnia, in particular, and on a priority basis, along the length of the frontier between the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The point is that, by controlling the conditions for application of the embargo, in accordance with resolution 820 (1993), against the territories controlled by the Serbs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bosnian Serbs will be led

(Mr. Ladsous, France)

to end their attacks and the practice of "ethnic cleansing", and finally to start out along the road towards a peaceful settlement in accordance with the process in the Vance-Owen Plan.

I should like to recall in this connection the commitment made by the Belgrade authorities after the refusal by the Serb party in Bosnia on 6 May to accept the Peace Plan.

Mr. Milosevic at that time made known his decision that he himself would impose sanctions against the Serbs in Bosnia by closing the frontier between Serbia and Bosnia and Hersegovina to all but humanitarian traffic, and he also made public his intention to accept the presence of observers on the Serbian side of the frontier to monitor the implementation of that decision. We have to take him at his word.

The reaction of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and in particular that of Serbia, to our resolution will be significant. If the authorities of those countries were to decide to reject the deployment of observers on their side of the frontier with Bosnia and Hersegovina, the situation would become clear and the Council would then have to draw the necessary conclusions.

Mr. ERDÖS (Hungary) (interpretation from French): Hungary voted in favour of Security Council resolution 838 (1993) as it is convinced that all foreign interference in the Republic of Bosnia and Hersegovina must cease immediately and that the neighbours of that country must respect its territorial integrity. It is clear that there cannot be a settlement and lasting peace in conditions where instances of such interference in Bosnia and Hersegovina persist.

(Mr. Erdős, Hungary)

But it is at least equally clear that a halt to such instances of interference is far from being enough to restore normal conditions and that an overall settlement to the conflict would become possible only on the basis of a firm determination on the part of the international community to act on all levels and in the manner that this tragic situation demands.

The deployment of observers along the Bosnian frontier could be an important contribution to this. We voted in favour of this resolution also in the conviction that applying it will be part of the efforts under the peace plan for the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina and will help implement the Vance-Owen Plan.

We consider this resolution primarily as a declaration of intent that clearly expresses the Council's commitment to continuing the complex enterprise aimed at restoring peace and justice in Bosnia and Herzegovina and to do so despite the difficulties, the broken promises and the repeated breaches of commitments that had been made. On the basis of resolution 838 (1993), the Security Council is beginning a series of actions in several stages: the present declaration of intent will have to be followed up as soon as possible by a report from the Secretary-General on how observers will be deployed, and that report will in turn be followed by a Council resolution on the deployment itself.

In the context of this series of actions, there are some very important, specific questions that will have to be clarified concerning the mandate, emplacement and also the other aspects of the observers' activities. It is within that same context that the political will of this body, on which falls the principal responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, will once again, inevitably, be put to the test.

(Mr. Erdös, Hungary)

We attach particular importance to the fact that the resolution that has been adopted is in strict conformity with previous Council resolutions concerning the sanctions regime imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

In respect of the aerial surveillance over the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which has already been introduced in connection with the regime banning military flights over that country, we would welcome any support that the information so gathered may bring to observation, not only of the situation along the Drina, but also of the situation obtaining in the safe areas in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as we believe that Council resolution 838 (1993) represents a series of activities that complement the establishment by the Council just recently of those safe areas.

In this context, we should like to hope that - in the contest between, firstly, the importance of the credibility of international commitment and, secondly, the temptation to resign oneself to the realities carved out in the field - despite so many setbacks, it is credibility that will win the day - and, we would add, in the interest of all of us.

Mrs. ALBRIGHT (United States of America): With the resolution just adopted, the Security Council has taken the third step towards implementing the joint action programme. Our overall goals remain the same: to stop the slaughter, prevent the conflict from spreading and achieve a lasting and equitable settlement. By actively pursuing these goals, we are paving the way for a renewed effort to end the conflict through a comprehensive political settlement.

After the Bosnian Serbs rejected the Vance-Owen Plan, Serbian strongman Milosevic claimed that Serbia and Montenegro would no longer aid the Bosnian Serbs in their violence against the Bosnian Government. While I remain sceptical, we shall soon know whether Mr. Milosevic is serious about ending the carnage in Bosnia or is merely engaging in yet another elaborate attempt to hoodwink the civilized world.

We look forward to receiving the Secretary-General's report. The pressure must be kept on the Bosnian Serbs. Sealing Bosnia's border with Serbia and Montenegro would be a constructive step in that direction.

Mr. LI Zhaoxing (China) (interpretation from Chinese): The Chinese delegation is deeply concerned with and saddened by the fact that the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina has remained unsolved for such a long period of time. Our profound sympathy goes to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have suffered untold misery amid the smoke of war. In our view, such tragedy in that war-ridden country should no longer be allowed to continue. Though the issue of the former Yugoslavia, including the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina, is highly complex and difficult, and its fundamental solution is by no means easy to come by, the international community should, however difficult and frustrating the issue is, keep on urging the parties concerned to persevere in their efforts for an appropriate and lasting solution by

(Mr. Li Zhaoxing, China)

peaceful means, through consultation and negotiation. China, as a permanent member of the Security Council, has all along supported the unswerving efforts of the international community to promote the political settlement of the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina within the framework of the Peace Plan of the Co-Chairmen of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia. We hope that the relevant measures envisaged by this resolution will help realize this objective. It is based on this consideration that the Chinese delegation voted in favour of the resolution just adopted.

At the same time, the Chinese delegation wishes to point out that our affirmative vote on this resolution does not mean any change in our position vis-à-vis sanctions againsst the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Mr. VORONTSOV (Russian Federation) (interpretation from Russian): The delegation of the Russian Federation expresses its satisfaction at the Security Council's adoption of this resolution, which is aimed at the deployment of international observers on the borders of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In so doing, the Council has taken yet another concrete step towards the implemention of the joint action programme adopted in Washington on 22 May by the Foreign Ministers of Spain, the Russian Federation, France the United Kingdom and the United States of America

This programme, as we are aware, must give significant impetus to the process of settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina and stabilize the situation in the other critical areas of the former Yugoslavia. The objective of this programme is a consistent, stage-by-stage implementation of the Vance-Owen Peace Plan.

We look forward to the report of the Secretary-General, and we hope that those who harboured concerns will demonstrate readiness to cooperate in the implementation of the measures set out in the resolution and to promote a real

(Mr. Vorontsov, Russian Federation)

shift towards a political settlement of the Bosnian crisis. Otherwise, as the Washington programme emphasizes, its parties are by no means closing off the possibility of adopting other, tougher measures, none of which has been prejudged or can be excluded from consideration.

The PRESIDENT (interpretation from Spanish): I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of Spain.

The day before yesterday in Luxembourg, together with the other States members of the European Community at the meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Twelve, Spain pledged to step up its efforts to achieve, in close cooperation with the rest of the international community, a just and lasting peace in the former Yugoslavia. We reaffirmed that the Vance-Owen Plan remains the central focus of our strategy to achieve peace in Bosnia and herzegovina.

In this regard, we consider that the international community must adopt all appropriate and necessary measures to put an end to the conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For this reason my delegation co-sponsored and voted in favour of resolution 838 (1993), which the Council has just adopted unanimously and which is aimed at controlling the borders of that Republic.

The monitoring of the effective sealing of the borders betwen the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina is another of the measures included in the joint programme of action, which was announced in Washington on 22 May. Those measures are aimed at laying the groundwork for the implementation of the Vance-Owen Plan.

Strict compliance with the sanctions imposed against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia constitutes a key instrument for the attainment of our objective of peace for Bosnia and Herzegovina. We believe that the deploymnent of international observers along the borders of that Republic is a measure that should facilitate compliance with the sanctions and also help stop the supply

(The President)

of military matériel and other supplies to the paramilitary units that impose the language of force and hatred on Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Though fully aware of the difficulties that such a deployment could encounter, we shall not abandon our goal; on the contrary, we are determined to continue moving ahead. However, before taking a definitive decision, we believe it advisable to have at our disposal an analysis of the various possible modalities of deployment. We have therefore requested the Secretary-General to submit to the Council a report on the subject at the earliest possible date.

In this context, I wish to recall that the European Community and its member States have offered to make available to the international community a contingent of monitors who, along with United Nations observers and possibly personnel specialized in customs and border control, could monitor effectively, wherever they are deployed, compliance with the relevant resolutions of this Council.

In the meantime, my country, acting as an individual nation or as an intermediary with the regional organizations of which it is a member, pledges to provide the Secretary-General with any pertinent information that might contribute to this objective and put a definitive end to the conflict.

I now resume my functions as President of the Security Council.

There being no more speakers, the Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Security Council will remain seized of the matter.

The meeting rose at 6 p.m.